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I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. VI, NO. 44 NOVEMBER 23, 1959 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

Ike and Herter "Security Risks" in the Eyes of CIA and FBI

We congratulate the Secretary of State on his address last Monday night to the National Foreign Trade Council. After the long years of hateful sterilities propagated during the Acheson and Dulles periods, it was heartening to hear Mr. Herter say plainly that he thought we could "find a common language" with the Soviet Union "because we have a common interest" and "that interest lies simply in the basic will to survive, shared by free men and Communists alike." He charted a course in which we would seek to develop "some rules of the game" for co-existence as a way "to temper acute political problems which cannot now be fully solved, and to bring under control the spiraling arms race which those problems goad onward." The State Department, at least in its upper levels, seems finally coming into line with the Eisenhower policy.

We are sorry that after the brisk and hopeful opening sections of the speech, it tailed off with some of that suffocating Dulles-style self-righteousness about how *non*-materialistic we are, how devoted to "the God-given multiformity of man" and how "our chief source of strength" is in "our faith in freedom." This unctuous hogwash fools no one but ourselves. We are probably the most materialistic nation on earth; nowhere else is a man measured more completely by the size of his bank account and the length of his car. "Multiformity" may indeed be "God-given" but in the U.S.A. *uni*formity and *con*formity are a lot safer. A web of loyalty-security regulations and a network of political informers continue to make life hazardous for non-conformists and radicals. Despite "our faith in freedom", there isn't more than a handful of men in public life prepared to stand up and call for the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee, or Eastland's Senate counterpart. Mr. Herter's own State Department still hopes at the next session of Congress to get legislation enabling it to restrict the right to travel on political grounds and to deny passport applicants the right to face accusers. The rest of the world not only understands this but even tends to exaggerate it, forgetting that we still have a degree of political freedom and personal security sharply different from the Soviet bloc even in its milder post-Stalinist phase. But in peaceful competition we'd better start to talk less and do more about this asset. It's been dwindling badly.

Spy Chiefs Should Neither Be Seen Nor Heard

In this connection we do not welcome the debut of Allen W. Dulles, director of Central Intelligence, as a witness on public policy matters before Congressional committees. His first such appearance, before the Joint Economic Committee Nov. 13, was temperate and restrained. His analysis of Soviet economic growth, which opened a week of hearings before that committee, was fair and objective. But we think intelligence chiefs should neither be seen nor heard. Our government suffers already from entirely too much centrifugal anarchism in which military and civilian chiefs are constantly shooting off their mouths in a way contrary to Administration policy. A little of this is good; we are overdoing it. But one agency which should not be heard from is Central Intelligence. So long as it limits itself to private studies for the White House, it is free to agree or differ as it pleases with official policy. But to allow it to express itself in public is to invite serious consequences when it differs with the President. What if it thinks his present course dangerous? Should it be allowed to campaign openly against it, putting its prestige behind alternative policies? Mr. Dulles was discreet but his Deputy Director, General C. P. Cabell, in a speech to the National Security Commission of the American Legion Aug. 21 and another to the National Guard Association Oct. 6 has already joined the chorus of rightwing paranoids criticizing the very idea of peaceful co-existence.

Consulting spy chiefs on foreign policy is like consulting private detectives on marriage; both are obsessed by the seamy side of things; they see plots and potential opportunities for adultery everywhere. That's their business. In this respect, though they be bitter rivals in all else, FBI and CIA seem to agree. General Cabell and J. Edgar Hoover both believe that co-existence is a delusion and a snare, and that those who advocate it are either dupes or worse. By the standards they apply, the positions taken by the President and the Secretary of State would be enough to make lesser government employes suspect as security risks.

Backdown by State Dept. on Laos

The real news in the new report on Laos issued by the State Dept. for the Sunday papers of Nov. 15 was nowhere reported: the new report no longer alleges a foreign invasion of Laos.

The new account still tries to link Khruschov with the outbreak of fighting in mid-July by "assuming" that Ho Chi-minh of North Vietnam must have discussed it with Khruschchov during their talk in Moscow July 2! But the new report no longer speaks of an invasion, of bombardment from across the border nor of participation by North Vietnamese troops. It pictures a guerrilla uprising within Laos and "the main elements of the attacking forces" are described as "former Pathet Lao soldiers and members of several ethnic-minority groups straddling the Lao-North Vietnamese border."

Military aid to the rebels is no longer alleged and the report does not go beyond the charge that they were "vigorously supported" by "the propaganda and diplomatic resources of the Soviet bloc."

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From Frank Aiken's Speech Warning the UN to Act While Still Time

Ireland Tries Again to Stop the Spread of Nuclear Weapons

A resolution against the spread of nuclear weapons was introduced in the General Assembly Nov. 13 by Frank Aiken, Ireland's Minister for External Affairs. A similar resolution was introduced by him last year. In the First Committee, last year no nation dared vote against it but only 37 voted for it and the vote was limited to the first clause which recognized the danger. The clause calling for an ad hoc committee to do something about the danger was never voted upon. Mr. Aiken thereupon withdrew the resolution, expressing hope that the new 81-power disarmament commission would take note of the danger recognized by the First Committee. The Commission, however, in this characteristic perpetual motion tragicomedy, did nothing but welcome the Geneva agreement to set up a new 10-nation committee on disarmament. Mr. Aiken's new resolution asks the 10-nation committee to consider means (1) to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons by transfer from nuclear powers and (2) to police an agreement by which non-nuclear powers agreed not to produce such weapons. We reprint below an abridged portion of Mr. Aiken's speech introducing it. Note at press-time: The resolution passed 60 to 0, with 13 abstentions including the Soviet bloc, China, France, Peru and Spain.

"There are today two distinct dangers facing us and they require different sets of measures aimed at averting them. The first set of dangers arises from the situation with which mankind has been trying to live since the end of the last war. That is the situation where the two great power blocs confront each other, divided by deep mutual distrust and ideological antagonism, and strenuously competing in a worldwide diplomatic and propaganda effort, backed ultimately by the military capacity, possessed by each set of powers, to annihilate civilization. That situation, fraught with danger as it is, is nonetheless one with which we have managed to live for a number of years.

The New Dangers

"But for the second set, the new dangers, not only do no techniques exist, but we can hardly assess the scope and magnitude of the dangers themselves. These new dangers are, of course, those which are likely to flow from the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons. The present deadlock between the two power systems makes it all the harder to prevent the spread of these weapons.

"As delegates are aware, plutonium which is the fissionable core of some nuclear weapons has for some years been obtained as a by-product of one type of nuclear electric power station. Countries which may build this type of electric power plant will find themselves with the basic material for nuclear weapons on their hands. It will become increasingly hard for the governments of these countries to resist domestic pressure to take the further step of producing nuclear weapons. They will be pressed to do so on the grounds of economy and security if not for considerations of prestige.

"Nor is the possibility of wider dissemination even confined to states. Revolutionary organizations and groups can come into the possession of such weapons by various means as these weapons become more numerous, more easily transportable and part of standard military equipment.

"Granted that an agreement at Geneva were followed by a world agreement not to test, it would still do little to check the actual dissemination, as distinct from the testing, of weapons. They could still be manufactured and be transferred from one country to another without in any way infringing international law, or breaking any agreement. Our suggestion, Mr. President, is that if the nuclear powers agree not to transfer nuclear weapons to non-nuclear states, the non-nuclear states should agree not to produce or acquire these weapons and agree also to accept inspection.

"There is no military or political advantage to be gained that outweighs the danger involved in spreading these weapons to more countries and thus giving their governments or their revolutionary groups the power to start a nuclear war, or to engage in nuclear blackmail.

"There is little doubt, we believe, that the safest and most effective use the nuclear powers can make of their nuclear weapons is to stockpile them under their own lock and key until they can safely deliver them to a United Nations force upholding a world system of law and security in which they have learned to trust by seeing it operate successfully in limited areas."

How Quickly Times (and Men) Can Change

"Wisconsin Rapids, Wis., Nov. 12—Vice President Nixon said tonight that anyone urging a resumption of nuclear weapons testing was ignorant of the facts. Mr. Nixon did not mention by name either former President Truman or Governor Rockefeller, both of whom have urged test resumption."

—New York Times, Nov. 13, 1959.

"Vice President Nixon, in a Philadelphia speech Oct. 3, denounced Stevenson's H-test [suspension] proposal as 'catastrophic nonsense.'"

—Facts on File, Oct. 3-9, 1956.

NATO HQ. Thinks It Can Buy Off De Gaulle By Giving Him Nuclear Arsenel

Passage of the Irish resolution at the United Nations might help to inhibit plans for further amendment of the Atomic Energy Act at the coming session of Congress in the direction of a wider nuclear give-away.

A Paris dispatch from Crosby S. Noyes, the gifted roving foreign correspondent of the Washington Star, which his paper published Sunday Nov. 15, said the possibility of supplying France "with a ready-made arsenel of atomic weapons is being given serious consideration by high-level Western officials."

NATO headquarters in Paris seems to be disturbed by a recent speech of deGaulle's at the French war college. He said that since France eventually may be destroyed from any point in the world, it must build an independent nuclear force "effective anywhere in the world." DeGaulle said the basis of this force would be an atomic armament "which we may build or which we may buy."

The Noyes dispatch foreshadows two arguments for selling or giving deGaulle this nuclear armament. One is that this would keep him from embarking on a long series of tests bound to upset the Geneva negotiations. The other is that he might thus be bought off and reconciled to integration of his forces with NATO's and to lifting his ban on the stationing of U.S. nuclear forces on French soil.

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Some Unanswered Questions in the Furore Over Possibly Contaminated Cranberries

State Dept. Still Flim-Flamming on Exchange of Newsmen with China

State Department is still engaging in flim-flam on the question of permitting U.S. newsmen to visit Communist China. The main obstacle is not the passport reference to "those portions of China under Communist control" which will now be blacked out but State's unwillingness to grant reciprocal privileges to Chinese newsmen. It was clear two years ago (1) that Peking would not admit our two dozen hand-picked correspondents unless we agreed to admit an equal number of Chinese and (2) that Dulles was well aware that this affront would keep the touchy Chinese from agreeing to an exchange he did not want.

Bi-Partisanship in The Cranberry Bogs

It would have been refreshing if at least one presidential candidate, instead of heartily eating possibly tainted 1959 crop cranberries, had saluted Secretary Flemming for his courage in bucking powerful farm interests to protect the public from a cancerous danger. The cranberry furore parallels the fallout controversy in that defenders of the cranberry also rely on deceptive averages and scientists in both cases just don't know enough to assess the dangers from minute amounts of these poisons. The question is why, after destroying some 3,000,000 pounds of berries from the 1957 crop because of pesticide contamination, the Food and Drug Administration failed to police the 1958 crop and relied weakly on self-policing by the national cranberry association.

NOT THAT PATRIOTIC: The country gained by Charles L. Critchfield's decision not to become director of the Pentagon's Advanced Research Projects Agency. His appointment would have meant a further breakdown in sound principles of government. A 1951 law permitting the Defense Department to employ up to ten unpaid consultants was to be stretched to allow Mr. Critchfield to serve as head of ARPA while continuing to receive his $40,000 a year salary as research chief for Convair, the aircraft and missile subsidiary of General Dynamics. Since General Dynamics is now our second largest arms contractor and bulks large in the very fields with which ARPA deals, the relationship would be so obviously improper that it is disturbing it was ever considered. Mr. Critchfield said he was eager to work for the government out of patriotism but he did not want to exchange his $40,000 salary at Convair for the $19,000 the Pentagon job pays.

THE MAN WHO PRAYS FOR THE SENATE: The Chaplain of the Senate, the Rev. Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, delivered a sermon here Nov. 15 which charged that some religious leaders were promoting a second Munich by their blindness toward communism and by their "moral flabbiness" in being willing to "grasp unrepentant, bloodstained hands," an indictment which would seem also to cover President Eisenhower. According to the *Washington Post,* Dr. Harris singled out the Rev. A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation "as a religious leader who has been 'bewitched.' " The Cotton Matherish vocabulary implies that to believe in peace is evidence of diabolic possession. This is the man who opens the Senate each day with prayer.

FORBIDDEN TOPIC: The *Baltimore Sun's* political commentator, Thomas O'Neill, touched (Nov. 15) on a subject nice people don't talk about, the Esso sign behind the Rockefeller candidacy. "There is strong hint," O'Neill wrote, "that the extensive Rockefeller business interests can be depended upon to influence local leaders across the country when the signal is given."

Tribute to Meyer of Vermont

In an unusual tribute to a freshman Congressman who has taken some of the boldest liberal positions in the House, 32 members of Congress placed an advertisement in the Burlington, Vt., Free Press, praising Vermont's Congressman-at-Large William H. Meyer. "Bill Meyer," the signers said, in a "memo" addressed to the people of Vermont, "represents to us the epitome of granite integrity" and the "finest tradition not only of Vermont but of America." They hailed him as "that voice of conscience which prompts us all to think more deeply."

Two surprises among the signers were Majority Leader John W. McCormack and Clyde Doyle of the Un-American Activities Committee. The signatures were obtained by Meyer's fellow "peace" Congressman, Byron L. Johnson of Colorado. The other signers, all Democrats, were:

James Roosevelt, Clem Miller, George A. Kasem, and Jeffery Cohelan, California; Emanuel Celler and Alfred E. Santangelo, New York; Frank Thompson, Jr., N.J.; Edith Green and Al Ullman, Oregon; Frank M. Clark, John H. Dent, and Thomas E. Morgan, Pa.; Henry S. Reuss and Robert W. Kastenmeier, Wis.; Frank M. Coffin and James C. Oliver, Maine; Frank Kowalski, Conn.; Stewart L. Udall, Arizona; Leonard G. Wolf and Neal Smith, Iowa; John A. Blatnik and Joseph E. Karth, Minn.; Richard Bolling, Mo.; John Brademas, Ind.; Lee Metcalf, Mont.; George S. McGovern, S. Dak.; Quentin Burdick, N. Dak. Robert W. Levering, Ohio; and James G. O'Hara of Michigan.

British Medical Officer Links Leukemia Rise to Strontium 90 Deposits

"Deaths from Leukemia (blood cancer) have increased in five British counties by well over 50 percent since 1950. Four of these 'black' counties are mountainous Western counties with a heavy rainfall: Carnarvonshire (80%), Montgomeryshire (59%), Cumberland (59%) and Westmorland (140%). These facts were presented last week in an article in The Lancet by Dr. T. Alun Phillips, Medical Health Officer. Suggestions that the rapidly rising leukemia death rate in the counties is linked with the intake of Strontium 90 (which comes down in rain) have factual support.

"Dr. Phillips studied figures from local health authorities over eight years, and compared the two four-year periods 1950 to 1953 and 1954 to 1957. The average national increase in Leukemia deaths over these periods was 13 percent. In 1920 the death rate from leukemia in England and Wales was 1.1 per 100,000. By 1957 the rate rose to 5.3. 'Areas in the Northern hemisphere,' wrote Dr. Phillips, 'have deposits three times heavier than the world average. The amount of deposits of radioactive dust varies also within Britain, so that mountain areas of high rainfall show high levels of Strontium 90.' "

—Peace News (London) Nov. 6.

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Cuba's Latest Note Impressively Provides Perspective on Castro's Struggle

The Colonialism We Oppose Elsewhere and Practice Still in Cuba

We are grateful to the *New York Times* for making available in its late City Edition of Nov. 14 the full text of the Castro government's note to our Ambassador in Havana. It is an impressive and eloquent State document. Like the Irish, who cannot begin any dispute with the British without going back to Cromwell, the Cubans go back to the Platt amendment and the Hawley-Smoot tariff. But these, though forgotten incidents to us, are key threads in a still fresh history for the youthful nation of Cuba which we helped to free from Spain only to make it a ward of our sugar trust.

We believe this document deserves close study. A hostile press has pictured the Castro revolt as somehow a Communist plot; even friendly newspapermen have tended to caricature it as an uprising of bearded beatniks. To see it properly requires economic and historical perspectives. These the Cuban note provides.

Why Cuba Needs Land Reform

"The Revolutionary Government," says this Cuban State paper, "admits that North American capital investments have positively contributed to the material advancement of our country; but it cannot help pointing out that these investments have also contributed to give the Cuban economy a semi-colonial character, evidenced by its absolute subordination to our sugar production, the inefficiency of the agricultural production to fill our own consumption requirements, and by the advantageous position of many industrial products when they compete with their Cuban counterparts."

This is the heart of Cuba's economic complaint. Its tariffs on our products are fixed by negotiation, but our sugar quotas —which control their bread and butter—are fixed by our unilateral action. Cuba seeks "the transformation of the system under which the nation's land has been controlled heretofore, the industrial development of the country." It sees the "real source of political despotism, of social backwardness and widespread insufficient consumption of critical commodities in our America" in "her economic underdevelopment, which is maintained and exploited in a great measure by foreign interests." This is colonialism. We protest against it in Algeria, in Indonesia, and in Kenya but maintain it in our own backyard.

The political complaint is as familiar. It is the friendliness of the American government and press to dictators to the South of us, no matter how bloody, so long as they play ball with U.S. oil, sugar, banana and other private interests. Trujillo, as bloody a monster as ever ruled in this hemisphere, is our pet, the recipient of loans and military supplies while we have been using our influence in other Western capitals to prevent Castro from buying arms. While anti-Batista exiles were hounded by the FBI and sent back to death, anti-Castro rebels have somehow been able from our territory to bomb sugar mills and Havana.

These little funny excitable men with beards are heroes in Latin America, as they should be here. Fidel Castro is exactly the kind of human being we would applaud if we still held truly to American ideals; indeed if he had turned up in Hungary instead of Cuba, we would have gone wild over him, he could have had anything from us he wanted. That a handful of patriots loving liberty more than life could overthrow a powerfully armed dictator in the days of jet planes and atom bombs reaffirmed the human spirit's primacy. Latin America will judge all our hi-falutin pronunciamentoes about liberty as sheer hot air if we don't extend a helping hand to Fidel Castro.

A More Objective View of Castro

"The government of Fidel Castro is broadly based and has as its keynote a sweeping program of political reform, economic nationalism and social revolution. It is still too early to tell whether the movement will be successful or be perverted either by the inexperience and overambitiousness of Fidel Castro or by the intrigues of the Communists. . . . (p. 16)

"The opposition to Castro in Cuba comes from Batista's group, dissatisfied business men and persons affected by the drastic reform laws, but it has little popular backing (p. 71)."

—U.S.-Latin American Relations, A Study Prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by the University of New Mexico School of Inter-American Affairs, released November 19.

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NEWSPAPER

Entered as Second Class Mail Matter Washington, D. C. Post Office

I. F. Stone's Weekly. Entered as Second Class Matter at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Post-dated Mondays but published every Thursday except the last two Thursdays of August and December at 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W., Washington 15, D. C. An independent weekly published and edited by I. F. Stone; Circulation Manager, Esther M. Stone. Subscription: $5 in the U. S.; $6 in Canada; $10 elsewhere. Air Mail rates: $15 to Europe; $20 to Israel, Asia and Africa.

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